# THE MILITANT

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# Martial Law in Chile Aims To Smash Mounting Strikes

## Steel Wage Hike Leaves Profits At All-Time High

By George Lavan

A one-day strike of 600,000 CIO steelworkers sufficed to persuade the monopolists of basic steel to come across with a wage increase averaging 15c. an hour.

The brief strike followed a month of negotiations under the wage re-opening clause in the two-year contracts which were signed a year ago. On the eve of the expiration of the wage re-opening period the corporations had offered only a 10c. wage increase. This was termed "completely inadequate" by United Steelworkers President David J. McDonald. In preparation for the strike the Big Six basic steel companies banked their furnaces and laid off men.

**At midnight, June 30 — the deadline — steel locals, without formal notice from the top leadership, closed down the plants that produce 90% of the country's steel. These were U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic, Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Inland. The slogan was the time-honored "no contract, no work."**

Before 10:30 next morning giant U.S. Steel had seen the light and made the pattern-setting 15c. offer which was quickly accepted.

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT

The 15c. is the average increase. The lowest wage classification in the steel mills will get only the across-the-board increase of 11½c. The other 3½c. will be divided unequally among the higher classifications, with the lion's share going to the skilled workers.

The 15c. settlement is considered relatively large. That is, relative to increases in the past few years and to the Ford and GM settlements. Relative, however, to the boom in steel and the profits being raked in this year by the basic steel corporations, it is far from overwhelming. As was the case in the auto industry, where the same boom conditions prevail, a tough policy by the union leaders could very likely have brought double the increases actually gained or could have set new standards for the industry — as the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

Profits are so great this year that the steel barons did not even dare put up the usual argument that their industries could not afford greater wage increases than they were offering. The week before the companies began banking their furnaces for the strike, production in the Pittsburgh area hit 101.6% of capacity. This was no freak. The first week of this summer showed an industry output of 2,350,000 tons or 97.4% of national capacity. Business is so good in steel that even the expected seasonal decline has not developed.

**The quarterly report of the U.S. Steel Corporation shows that in the first three months of 1955 it produced and sold 481,000 more tons of steel than in the same**

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## Letter Contest Opened On Labor Party Topic

Labor's Daily, July 2, published a front-page box in which it invites its readers to participate in a discussion on the question of a labor party. After stating the arguments against the idea of a labor party, as formulated by AFL President George Meany, the editors invite readers to send in their own opinions. Labor's Daily offers a prize for the best letter published each week.

**There are undoubtedly militant unionists who are seriously considering the idea of a labor party. They are confronted by the fact that the Democratic Party doesn't belong to labor. Nor does it seem to function in any way as a vehicle for labor's aspirations.**

This becomes increasingly clear in the present Congress controlled by the Democrats. The role of the Congressional Democrats consists in large part of trying to prove that they are better at carrying out Eisenhower's program than the Republicans.

THE RECORD

Legislation that labor wants passed just doesn't come through. They did no better than Eisenhower on the minimum wage. While they increased the amount by ten cents, they defeated extension of the coverage to more categories of workers. Equal pay for equal work which the union movement has demanded for women is still blocked. Eisenhower so far has won his demand for Jim Crow Reserves. And the witch hunt harasses labor under Democratic sponsorship as it did under Republican.

Labor's Daily is the only daily union paper that has the backing of a sizeable section of organized labor. It has a national circulation and is sponsored by the Typographical Workers Union.

**The discussion being opened up in Labor's Daily letter column on the question of a labor party should prove interesting and instructive. We reprint the invitation of Labor's Daily in its entirety.**

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Want a Labor Party?

President George Meany of the AFL said this week that he doesn't think American workers want a political party of their own. Meany has also said in the past that a labor party in this country would only be formed if unions got as little out of collective bargaining as they do in some other countries.

What do YOU think about a labor party for the United States?

Write a letter to the editor. If your letter is adjudged the best of the week in which it is published, you will receive a one-year subscription to Labor's Daily — free!

Your letter, with others, will be published in our "My Time to Speak" column, on the editorial page.

Limit your letter to 200 words, type it, double spaced, or write it clearly on one side of the sheet. Date it, and don't forget your full name and address. (Name withheld upon request.) Send it to: Editor, Labor's Daily, P. O. Box 6177, Charleston, W. Va.

## Willow Run Strike Shows Up Role Of UAW Officials

By William Bundy

**DETROIT, July 2 — "Why don't they call us 'labor statesmen'?" That's what Walter Reuther asked some months ago when he saw a newspaper headline on his conferences with George Meany in Miami which read: "Labor Bosses Meet." Well, Reuther has made the grade. In an editorial Wednesday the Detroit Free Press said:**

"For the benefit of those who tend to live in the past when they talk about labor leadership, we would like to point out the statesmanship and recognition of responsibility lately exhibited by the UAW international."

WHY THE PRAISE?

The Free Press is an unabashed spokesman in this area for the auto corporations and has more than once been strongly attacked by the UAW international for its anti-labor policy. What prompted this flow of praise so sweet to bureaucratic ears was the manner in which the UAW leaders handled the objections of the ranks to the recently negotiated contract. As the Free Press puts it: "Confronted with a flurry of wildcat strikes and petty rebellions, the top men who have in their hands the longterm welfare of UAW members unflinchingly acted in accord with their obligations." Let us take the case of the GM automatic transmission plant at Willow Run to see how they did this.

On Wednesday, June 22, one week before the deadline for ratifying the newly negotiated contract, the plant employing 8,800 workers was closed down by a strike sparked by the cutter-grinders, who objected to terms which excluded them from the eight-cent raise for skilled workers. This same issue played a key role in other "wildcat" strikes which hit many GM plants in the Detroit and Flint areas since June 13. Men doing the same work in Ford and Chrysler plants are classified as skilled, but GM uses a different term for the work—"tool sharp-

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*Ten Years Ago in Chile*

**Chilean worker (above) holds aloft banner of newspapers soaked with blood of nine comrades murdered by strikebreaking police, The massacre led to general strike Jan. 31, 1946. Today Chilean workers are preparing another general strike protest against martial law repressions of current strikes.**

## MILITANCY, TENACITY MARK SOUTHERN STRIKES

By John Thayer

Another advance for unionism was chalked up by Southern workers as the three-month strike of Greyhound bus drivers in ten Southern states and the District of Columbia ended victoriously. In Miami, Florida, and in Louisiana, however, bitter strikes by AFL hotel workers and CIO Sugar refinery workers continued.

The Southern bus drivers' victory has resulted in the first union contract for the Greyhound company in this area. The strike — involving some 750 drivers in the ten-state area — was 100% effective from April 8, the day it began. It was led by the AFL Motor Coach union. Over 600 of the strikers belonged to the union. The others were solidly behind it but for legal reasons (almost all of the states involved have "right to work" laws) were non-member strikers.

**For two months the company maintained a tough attitude, refusing even to meet with union representatives. Strike meetings were well attended even though in some cases it meant traveling more than 1,000 miles.**

Terms of the settlement include union recognition, a 5% wage boost, a guarantee of $110 for every two-week period in which drivers are available — but not put to work, and time-and-a-half for all work outside normal duties. Especially important, since it begins cutting away the North-South wage differential, is a provision for an extra penny for every five miles driven. The contract will expire at the end of 1956.

SUGAR STRIKE

In the feudal sugar baronies only a short distance from New Orleans, 1,500 Negro and white members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers have reached the three-month mark in their strikes against the Godchaux and Colonial Sugar companies. These companies have tried to operate their refineries with scabs. Godchaux was the first to attempt this at its refinery in Reserve, La. Company agents scoured the countryside for as far away as 200 miles in a scab-recruiting campaign. Although they have succeeded to a limited extent in this dirty business, it has by no means broken the strike. Moreover, the com-

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## Unions Plan 24-Hour General Strike for All Workers' Demands

By Myra Tanner

**Martial law was declared in six provinces of Chile on July 1, one day after 60,000 transport and communication workers went out on strike. President Carlos Ibanez at first said he would not declare a "state of emergency." But when he saw the power and determination of the strikers who ignored all government pleas and threats, he changed his mind and put the army in control.**

"Emergency zones" were created and army officers were given dictatorial powers throughout Chile's industrial regions including Santiago, the coal-mining area around Concepcion, the steel works at Huachipato and Chile's largest port, Valparaiso. All troops were placed on alert orders in their barracks.

The workers in government-operated railroads, bus, streetcar, postal and telegraph services went on strike. Army troops were mobilized to move a few trains but no streetcars were operating in Santiago and only a few buses were in use.

By July 4, four out of five service stations were closed for lack of supplies. Only one train, using gasoline and kerosene, managed to get into Santiago over the week-end.

Army telephone operators and foreign cable companies are handling emergency service inside Chile, but the normal communication service is completely shut down.

Strikers have demanded wage increases of 25,000 pesos and up. A raging inflation has cut the standard of living far beneath subsistence levels. Free market exchange is at 640 pesos to the dollar. The plight of the working class has become desperate.

GENERAL STRIKE CALL

**The Labor Confederation (CUT), which corresponds to the AFL and CIO in the United States, has called a 24-hour general strike throughout Chile for Thursday, July 7. The general strike is being organized, not only to support the transportation and communication workers, but to set forth the demands of all Chilean labor for wage rates commensurate with inflated prices.**

President Ibanez has refused to meet with union representatives to negotiate on the workers' demands until "all strikes are ended." However, the workers have remained firm. The transport workers union stated that the strike would continue "until our demands are met."

Osvaldo Koch, the Minister of Interior, told the press that the strike movement has only economic objectives and "lacks revolutionary content or contacts." His optimism is based on the fact that the Stalinist and right-wing Socialist parties are in alliance with the bourgeois Radical Party. For the sake of this alliance, they and the union bureaucrats have attempted to moderate and confine the struggle of the workers.

But the revolutionary content of the struggle is to be seen precisely in the scope and intensity of the workers' struggles for economic demands — demands that the ruling class of Chile are utterly incapable of satisfying.

RECENT STRIKE WAVE

During the last few months a strike wave of unprecedented proportions has swept all of Chile. Some tens of thousands of hospital and health workers went on strike for four days in June. Union officials accepted wage concessions negotiated with the government. But the rank and file refused to accept the settlement.

**Four-and-a-half thousand steel workers at Huachipato went on strike. Militant unionists from the El Tofo mine evacuated the mine center and staged an heroic march of 46 miles.**

More than 130,000 students from every section of the school

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## Students Protest In Guatemala

**A student demonstration in opposition to the Guatemalan dictatorship of Carlos Castillo Armas was organized by a law student group known as El Derecho (The Right) Association on June 25. Permission for the parade was granted by Armas after the group made it known that the demonstration would be held whether the government gave permission or not. The parade started with about 400 students. By the time it reached the plaza in front of the national palace, it had grown to about 3,000.**

**The arrangements committee for the demonstration had to give a promise, in advance, to the Armas regime that the parade would not be used for political purposes or as a sounding board for opposition to the government. However, the demonstration became just that. One of the speakers vigorously defended the legally elected government of Arbenz which was overthrown last year by the Armas military clique under Wall Street supervision.**

*Harassment Over*

**Five year ordeal ended, Professor Owen Lattimore is shown above with his wife. The Justice Dept. finally dropped its persecution of the Far East expert after the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals sustained Judge Youngdahl's ruling that the key counts of the perjury indictment were vague and meaningless.**

## New Witch-Hunt Chief Cracks Whip in N. J.

By Daniel Roberts

SWP Candidate for N. J. Senate, Essex County

NEWARK, July 1 — Dr. Robert Lowenstein, Estelle Laba and Perry Zimmerman — three teachers dismissed last week by the Newark Board of Education for invoking their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment before the Walter Committee — have appealed to State Education Commissioner Frederick M. Raubinger for reinstatement. The three were dismissed on the charge of "conduct unbecoming a teacher" by the narrow margin of a 5-to-4 vote.

The vigorous campaign waged by the teachers and other civil liberties defenders in Newark in defense of the right to use this constitutional protection without fear of punishment helped to expose the witch-hunting nature of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

WALTER'S "COMMAND"

The resistance was so strong that Rep. Francis Walter (Pa.), the Democratic replacement for McCarthy as chief witch-hunter, apparently felt he could not depend on the Newark authorities to carry through with the teacher's victimization unaided.

On June 22, he made a speech in Congress, reported in the Newark Star-Ledger, deploring the "failure of the Newark school board to take action against the three teachers." He then repeated all his committee's smears against the three.

**This was obviously meant as a command to the school board, and it served to expose as a lie the Un-American Committee's claim to be acting as a mere investigating body.**

After the school board's action, Walter was reportedly "upset" by the narrow victory. By way of retaliation, he threatened to call more teachers before his committee in Washington within a few weeks and give them the works. He sternly warned Mayor Leo P. Carlin to "examine his conscience as to future and present appointees" to the Newark Board of Education.

CARLIN OBEYS

The Democratic Newark mayor complied when he failed on June 30 to reappoint Mrs. Lodovico Mancusi Ungaro whom he, himself, had named to the Board last year. She had voted for the teachers' reinstatement.

Generally, the witch-hunters look upon their narrow one-vote victory as too close for comfort and are trying to resume the offensive. Reactionary organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and Knights of Columbus have raised demands that the four minority board members resign. Two N. J. Democratic Congressmen, Rodino and Addonizzio — both touted as liberals — were pressured to join the witch hunt. Both have done so with statements supporting the school board's majority.

**Despite these attempts to cow the opposition to the witch hunt into silence, the temper of resistance is still strong.**

It can be gauged by numerous letters published by the Newark Evening News on July 1 and 7 taking issue with that paper's support of the teachers' dismissal and backing the three teachers as well as the four minority board members.

**The witch-hunters have scored only a tenuous victory. This could be transformed into a clear-cut defeat for them should the Newark labor movement enter the struggle on the side of civil liberties.**

## Seamen Gain Jobless Benefits in New Contracts

By James O'Hara

**NEW YORK, July 5 — The recent concession won by the CIO National Maritime Union from the East Coast and gulf ship operators has stirred an angry buzzing among the operators and the newspapers for government action to "contain" the American seaman.**

The NMU won an industry-wide fund to provide a measure of unemployment insurance to seamen. Seamen are not covered by state unemployment insurance laws. This new fund, together with the existing pension and welfare benefits, vacation pay and the forty-hour week puts the American seamen on a par with workers in other well-organized industries.

CALL FOR HELP

The ship operators are pleading to Congress that it is beyond their power to cope successfully with the maritime unions and are asking for compulsory government action to limit seamen's wages and conditions. Congressman Bonner of North Carolina now heads a committee preparing such a bill.

The NMU also secured other minor concessions. From the general and vague first reports put out by the union no existing contract benefits were surrendered despite demands by the operators. The actual extent of the unemployment insurance fund which the union chooses to call the "employment security plan" will not be known for some time. Both the union and the operators are to make a long study to work it out.

The proposed plan provides for a limited amount of insurance to a seaman unemployed and yet seeking work. For a limited period he will draw insurance as long as there is money in the fund in accordance with conditions yet to be decided in the joint study.

But it is obvious on the face of the plan that should there be a serious decline in shipping as well as a decline in shoreside job opportunities the unemployment insurance fund would be quickly depleted. **Like all the other cushions and built-in stabilizers that are designed to eliminate the hazards of anarchistic capitalist economy this scheme is good only for minor fluctuations in employment. It will be absolutely worthless in a time of serious crisis.**

Nevertheless the principle that capitalist industry is responsible for the security of the worker and must make provisions for this security is becoming a part of the consciousness of workers everywhere in the U.S. This in itself is a progressive step forward in working-class thinking containing a profoundly revolutionary potential for the future.

For the present, however, the NMU gain is important in that it stands as a sharp challenge to the Lundeberg-influenced sector of the maritime labor movement. Harry Lundeberg, the AFL seaman's leader on the West Coast has become the proponent of a program to cut wages and conditions on American vessels.

**Lundeberg actually signed an agreement with a one-ship operator granting him major concessions in seamen's conditions in all departments. He advertised this cut-rate agreement as a model and announced that he was prepared to furnish cut-rate crews under the cut-rate agreement to any ship operator in the nation.**

Lundeberg's action came at the moment of the first all-maritime union conference to discuss merger possibilities. It served to blow up the conference and cast the shadow of civil war over all maritime labor.

The CIO maritime leaders, put on the defensive by Lundeberg's aggression, formally repudiated his program and thereby immeasurably increased their prestige and strength among the seamen. Sections of the AFL maritime unions joined them in opposition and a hot controversy is still raging over "Lunchbox's" action.

CURRAN'S SCHEME

Actually the thinking of Lundeberg and Curran is not too far apart. Curran had advanced a similar proposal a year ago when he tentatively suggested that in order to help revive coastal shipping the seamen would have to make concessions. This suggestion was received coldly. In the meantime the campaign for the guaranteed annual wage began to roll in the CIO and the membership began to press demands for contract improvement.

Curran chose to follow the course of seeking new gains and correctly rejected the contention of the operators that the demands of the union put the industry in decline.

**Lundeberg must now produce the same gain for his membership and most likely will. The deep rivalry and competition between the seamen's organizations serves at this moment to stymie the sell-out Lundeberg proposes. All he has been able to do is to increase rank-and-file hostility against him. He did receive warm commendation from the press, the ship operators and some labor-hating congressmen but the damage he dealt himself within the maritime labor movement is deep and far reaching.**

# Chinese Trotskyists Explain Mao's Purges

**[The following article by Mer Li-dar, published as a pamphlet April 16 by the Chinese Section of the Fourth International, has just been received by the Militant. Dealing with the purge of two important Maoist leaders, announced by Peking March 31, its analysis is of exceptional interest as an expression of the viewpoint of the genuine Marxist leadership of the Chinese working class. The Chinese Section of the Fourth International played a heroic role in the war against Japanese imperialism and in the Chinese Revolution, suffering particularly heavily from the repression of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. The Mao government, however, upon assuming power hunted down and assassinated "Trotskyists" on a nation-wide scale, forcing the organization into the underground. The English translation is by Hong Ying. — Ed.]**

When the "Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity" was passed at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in February 1954, it was our impression that the party faced a big internal purge. But just who the targets were remained a mystery since the CCP never saw fit to disclose any concrete facts about "the disruption of party unity." Now the purge of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih has lifted a corner of the veil.

On the fourth of this month, Peking announced the expulsion of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. So far as these two are concerned, the purge is not the beginning but the end. It is customary in Stalinist parties to conduct a purge behind closed doors. At the end the doors are opened for an official announcement of guilt based on one-sided or framed-up accusations against the victims. The purge of Beria and Malenkov followed such a pattern. So did the purge of Kao and Jao. Nevertheless we can trace the course of the current purge in the background of past events.

Going back in the complicated lists of appointments and dismissals passed by the Central Committee of the Chinese People's Government, we find that in the 17th session, August 7, 1952, the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the provinces of Liaotung, Kirin, Heilungkiang and Sungkiang, which are under the Northeast People's Government, were dismissed along with the mayor and deputy-mayor of Shenyang.

Kao and Jao were transferred to the Central Government in 1953.

At the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP in February 1954 the resolution on party unity was passed. On June 19 a resolution abolishing First Class Administrative Districts throughout the country was passed by the 32nd session of the Central Committee of the People's Government.

At the First National People's Congress, held in September 1954, Kao and Jao were neither representatives nor government officials.

Finally, the party's National Conference on March 31, 1955, approved the "Resolution on the Anti-Party Conspiracy of Kao and Jao" that revealed their expulsion.

**These nebulous facts indicate the course of the secret purge of Kao and Jao. Because of our understanding of the character of the CCP bureaucracy, we weren't caught by surprise.**

## What Kao and Jao Represented

According to the National Conference resolution, Kao Kang was guilty of the following crimes: engaging in "conspiratorial activities aimed at seizing leadership in the party and the state," a conspiracy that dates back to 1949; violating the policy of the Central Government, undermining party unity, and carving out an "independent kingdom" in the Northeast region; attempting, after his transfer from that area, to instigate rank and file party members in the Army against the Central Government; splitting the party into a "Party of the 'Whites'" [as opposed to "Reds"? — Tr.] and a "Party of the revolutionary bases and the army," declaring himself to be the representative of the latter; finally, fighting for the post of general secretary or vice-chairman and premier of the State Council.

Jao Shu-shih was accused of trying to seize power in the party by "shameless deceit" since 1943; of leading a rightist tendency while in the East China region, capitulating to the capitalists, landlords and rich peasants; and, after his transfer, of combining with Kao Kang against the party.

**The CCP cited no evidence to substantiate the charges, and of course Kao and Jao were given no chance to defend themselves publicly.**

From what we know of the past records of the two, the Kao tendency was comparatively to the left, the Jao tendency more to the right of the Central Government. In the Northeast, Kao was far ahead in stressing the fight against bourgeois influence, a fight begun by him earlier than the Central Government. (The San Fan and Wu Fan movements started in the Northeast.)

[The San Fan anti-three evils — movement was a campaign against corruption, waste and bureaucracy among government employees. The Wu Fan — anti-five — movement hit bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information from the government for private speculation. — Tr.]

In East China, it is true, Jao trailed the Central Government, exceeding it in compromises with the capitalists, landlords and rich peasants.

But these were nothing more than the first buds of the two tendencies. They never reached the point of developing oppositional lines against the CCP leadership. The degree of opposition was not the real reason for the purge. Mao had no need to expel them for that or to force Kao Kang to commit suicide "as an ultimate expression of his betrayal of the party."

**The main reason for the severe punishment visited upon them by the CCP Central Committee was the growing regional influence of the two on their home grounds (especially Kao Kang in the Northeast) and their engagement in anti-Central Committee clique formations.**

It is certain that the left and right shadings of the tendencies represented by Kao and Jao are a reflection of the "complex and acute class struggle" in the country, and, at the same time, a reflection of the differentiation in the two poles of the CCP's opportunist line. The rightist tendency was fostered by Mao's opportunism from the beginning.

In addition, the shadings reflect something else. The sectionalism and cliquism of Kao and Jao are a result of the CCP's Stalinist system, which fosters such trends.

Cliquism and sectionalism are expressions of one and the same thing in different circumstances. Cliquism is an organizational tendency within the party itself. Sectionalism is the way cliquism becomes expressed in the sphere of political power outside the party. The bureaucratism of the CCP fosters both. Moreover, they are closely linked to the bureaucracy itself.

At present cliquism and sectionalism exist not only in the various big administrative areas of the CCP and in the regional party leaderships, but also at the summits of the party. Sectionalism became apparent in the responsible heads of the big administrative areas, although in varying degrees. Kao Kang was the most serious of them and the only one with an inclination toward the left.

Let us illustrate how the Stalinist party system of the CCP fosters cliquism and sectionalism.

**The widow of Chen Tu-hsiu (left) stands beside the monument erected to the renowned Chinese Trotskyist leader (right) who died May 28, 1942. Chen Tu-hsiu, dean of the college of letters at Peking National University, founded the Chinese Communist Party. He served as its Secretary-General from 1921 to 1927 when he was ousted by Stalin's orders. In 1929 he helped organize the opposition to Stalinism in China that soon became part of the world-wide Trotskyist movement. In 1932 he was arrested by Chiang Kai-shek and sentenced to 13 years in prison. He was released in 1937 after his health was seriously undermined. The Maoists razed Chen's tomb to the ground as part of their consistent efforts to prevent the Chinese working class from developing its own political leadership and taking an independent course. But the Trotskyist movement founded by Chen continues to uphold the banners of Marxism, as the article on this page indicates.**

The CCP was born under the direction of the Third International in the days of Lenin. In 1924 Stalin usurped leadership of the Third International; and the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 was brought to catastrophe by his political line. **On the defeat of the revolution, Stalinist degeneration permeated the CCP. Organizationally, the CCP's inheritance of the Stalinist party system is manifested by the absence of party democracy, the prohibition of oppositional ideas, the bureaucratic control of all activities from top to bottom, and the formation of permanent cliques. Cliquism developed as the twin of bureaucratism.**

The process is one of continuous oscillation. The dominant clique takes advantage of its bureaucratic positions to strike at the other cliques. But the strengthened bureaucracy in turn becomes a hot bed for the growth of new cliques.

Since fundamentally different political ideas are prohibited, it is of course impossible to form factions based on the differentiation of political principles. Even a political faction must appear as a clique.

The present leading position obtained by Mao in the CCP is not the result of correct theoretical and political leadership but the result of a combination of the influence of the armed peasant masses and of clique methods that broke Mao's rivals.

First Mao struck at Li Li-san's clique, forcing the center of the CCP to move to the Stalinist-controlled district of the time. Then Mao seized the leadership of the party by striking at Chen Shao-yu (Wong Ming), the heir designated by Moscow. Finally, by purging Chang Kwoh-tao, he formed a dominant clique around himself, through this gaining control of the whole party organizationally and utilizing this bureaucratic control in turn to further strengthen his own clique.

**As a practitioner of permanent cliquism, Mao found it necessary consciously and continually to foster hero worship of himself by the party membership and cadres, having himself extolled as the "Oriental Sun."**

Mao picks his cadres on the basis of personal loyalty. Those who do not meet the test are dealt with as enemies to be expelled and purged.

He can permit no rival cliques, yet the reality continually crosses his aims, for his cadres naturally imitate his practices, foster hero worship for themselves and seek their own personal ties that jell into colliding cliques. These cliques may form either inside or outside Mao's personal fold.

## The Problem of Sectionalism

The heads of the big Administrative Districts rose from the peasant army, originally as leaders of Field Army Districts. Each had a base in his own military forces and his own clique. In the absence of peasants' and workers' democracy and a soviet system such as was known under Lenin, and the existence in their place of a bureaucracy, these Administrative Districts, as in the case of the political power of the state, were placed completely out of the control of the masses. Consequently, the inevitability of sectionalism.

On the one hand, the heads of the Administrative Districts mined the administration and big industry with members of their own cliques, thus converting the Administrative Districts into private kingdoms. On the other hand they absorbed indigenous CCP forces, some of whom extended into many regions, and opposed infiltration by rival Administrative Districts or Field Armies.

As a result of the development of sectionalism, the heads of the Administrative Districts considered anyone sent in by Mao's Central Government as an enemy and covertly sought to oust him. This could finally come to collision with the Central Government.

Sectionalism thus has its explanation. The gravest instance so far is the Northeast, which developed into an "independent kingdom."

**In face of the growing tendency toward sectionalism, Mao has not relied on supervision by the masses, nor based political power on democratic control by the workers and peasants in order to hinder, weaken and defeat the trend. He does not even utilize the highest powers of the party and the state which he possesses.**

For example, the United Army of the Northeast Democracy led by Lin Piao grew continuously during the war against the Japanese occupation. After Japan's surrender, this army suddenly became a tremendous force through supplementary armaments transferred by the USSR from the Japanese Kwangtung Army.

Because of this new striking power, Lin Piao's unit was dissolved by Mao. A large part of it was transferred to the South and Southwest after being assigned to the Fourth Field Army.

Although at present Lin Piao is still high in Mao's favor, having been promoted to replace the purged Jao Shu-shih as Commissar in the Political Bureau, his military power has disappeared.

Another example is the transfer of Ho Lung, vice-chairman of the Southwest Military Political Commission, to the Central Government where he serves nominally as vice-president but actually is in charge only of the Physical Culture Commission.

The transfer of Yeh Jan-ying from Canton is another interesting example. Besides serving as mayor of Canton, he was president of Kwangtung and vice-president of the Central South Military Political Commission. Tao Tse has temporarily replaced him as president of Kwangtung and Ho Wei has replaced him as mayor of Canton. Since the First National People's Congress, Yeh has not held any position of actual power but has been limited to commissar of the Defense Commission.

Still another example is Liu-Pei-ching. Formerly the highest head of the Southwest Administrative District, he is now nominally commissar in the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress and commissar in the Defense Commission. Actually he is only in charge of the Training Department under the Defense Commission.

## Economic Factors in the Struggle

Finally, we can cite the case of Li Li-san. Expelled long ago by Mao, he came back into a position of prominence and power. After the liberation he was a commissar of the Central Government and head of the Labor Department. But around the First National People's Congress, he was no longer in office. Probably he had been purged, for nothing has been heard of him since.

This fate was not due to his own weight as a sectionalist or cliquist. Most likely he indicated his dissatisfaction with the Central Government by lining up behind Kao Kang.

**Thus we see that in the earlier phases Mao's way of countering the growing sectionalism based on several provinces was "to send the wolves away from the woods."**

Last June he tried another device. Abolishing the First Class Administrative Districts, he put the provinces directly under control of the Central Government. Then, after the First National People's Congress, he separated the power of the military from the administration by setting up a State Council parallel to the Defense Commission and placed both under his control.

Kao Kang originally was not in Mao's fold. Before the 2,500-mile "Long March" of Mao, he was a leader together with Liu Tse-tan of the armed peasant struggle in Shensi. After the liberation, he became vice-president of the Central Government and Chairman of the Northeast People's Government.

This government, due to the early liberation of that area, was formed in 1947. The Northeast, consequently, forged ahead of the rest of the country in economic recovery, construction, and the strengthening of political power. It naturally became a norm for the whole country and the esteem in which Kao Kang was held rose accordingly.

The economy of the Northeast has a specific character. At the end of the war against Japan, the big industries left by the Japanese imperialists were grabbed by "bureaucratic capital." [Capital owned by the coterie of Chiang Kai-shek. — Tr.] Since the liberation they have been state-owned. Hence a large proportion of the state's heavy industry is in the Northeast.

Because of this particular development, while the rest of the country remained unstable immediately after the liberation, the Northeast had its own economic and currency system.

**Besides this, since the Northeast borders the USSR and was also the territory liberated with the help of the Soviet Red Army, it is conceivable that Stalin fostered the sectionalism of the Northeast as a future counter in restraining Mao. With Stalin's death, the Kremlin's masters, embroiled in their own affairs, withdrew support of Kao Kang in a bid for Mao's backing.**

Such were the elements fostering the development of Kao Kang's "independent kingdom" of the Northeast. From what was revealed in the resolution of the National Conference last month, it is apparent that Kao Kang's "independent kingdom" was stronger and more fully developed than any of the other Administrative Districts.

The backing of his clique by part of the army cadres was the source of the theory advanced by him of "two parties," which was aimed at mobilizing strength against the moves of Mao's Central Government.

Under these conditions, Kao Kang could not be reduced by simply transferring him to the Central Government. He had to be destroyed, politically by expulsion, and probably physically too, as the reference to "suicide" would indicate.

**[To be concluded next week.]**

# ...The Willow Run GM Strike

**(Continued from page 1)**

eners" and avoids the higher pay.

**The walkout quickly won the support of other workers in the plant who had their own reasons for protesting the contract.**

Thursday night more than 40 of the strikers received telegrams from the company suspending them from their jobs on the grounds that the contract specifically provides that participation in "unauthorized work stoppages" is grounds for dismissal. The UAW international leaders promptly exhibited their "statesmanship and recognition of responsibility" by publicly declaring the strike to be "illegal."

On Friday a large crowd of angry pickets milled around the plant shouting down attempts of the union officials to call them off the picket lines. There were bitter men in the crowd, defiantly waving yellow slips of paper in front of them, telegrams of suspension. A half dozen pickets were arrested in the events of the day. The plant stayed closed.

### OFFICIALS THREATEN

That night International and Local 735 leaders called a meeting to get the workers to return to work and accept the contract. But the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the strike. **In spite of this mandate from the membership, the UAW leaders (in the words of the Free Press again) "unflinchingly acted in accord with their obligations" and repeated their assertion that the strike was "illegal," that the union could not be responsible for members fired in such strikes, and that the workers ought to be happy with "the best contract this union has ever negotiated." They were roundly booed, and the meeting broke up in confusion.**

The plant stayed closed Saturday and Sunday. There were two more arrests. Another meeting was called for Sunday afternoon by the officials of the International who stated that there hadn't been enough members present at the Friday meeting for the vote to count (although the hall had been packed). "We are confident that a true expression of the majority will mean an immediate return to work," they said.

Sunday's meeting was orderly but noisy, the officials taking a lot of strong criticism from the membership. The vote (for the sake of consistency, this figure is taken from the Free Press' report) was "almost nine to one" in favor of continuing the strike. Once again the UAW leaders rose to the stature of "statesmanship" and announced that this vote didn't count either. As far as they were concerned, the strike was still illegal.

### BAN MASS PICKETING

Then the company took the ball. On Monday it obtained a court order prohibiting mass picketing at the plant on the basis that it was in violation of an agreement between the company and the union, and naming the UAW, the local, and a number of the strikers responsible if it continued. The company sent an open telegram to the International Union saying:

"This is to advise you that this illegal course of action on the part of certain of your membership leaves General Motors no alternative but to take every proper step available to it under our agreement, and under state and federal laws to prevent further loss . . . and to restore production in the plant." Additional deputies were put on call by the sheriff's office.

Tuesday morning the newspapers headlined stories of a back-to-work movement at the plant, and Tuesday afternoon a third meeting was held. UAW vice president John W. Livingston spoke before the membership. He said:

**"The International Union will not support the stoppage. General Motors could sue us and your local for every cent we have in the coffers." He threatened the strikers with expulsion from the union by saying, "I hope we don't have to kick people out of the union."**

The meeting was lively as usual. There were shouts of defiance, but the pressure was too much. The vote was taken, and with the boos still ringing in his ears, Livingston tasted victory. The workers voted two to one to return to work. The fate of the fired workers is still undecided.

**Is it any wonder that at the present time Reuther and Co. seem to be more popular with the Big Business press than with the workers in the auto plants?**

# ...Southern Strikes

**(Continued from page 1)**

pany is having trouble with its scabs. A group of at least thirty-five strikebreakers, shamed by the picket lines, left in a body with their luggage. The company guards have been keeping strikebreakers in the plant by gunplay. There have also been numerous instances of threats uttered and shots fired at the strikers.

**An attempt by Colonial Sugar to reopen its refinery in Gramercy, La., failed miserably. Not a single member of the union responded to the back-to-work appeals. Moreover, not a single strikebreaker appeared despite the fact the company had its busses and a fleet of cars lined up in the town to facilitate the back-to-work movement.**

Aiding the attempts to break the strike are the judges of the two parishes (in Louisiana, counties are called parishes). In St. John the Baptist Parish, in which the feudal Godchaux domain is located, the whole strike leadership — 30 men and one woman — face jail terms. Seven men have already been given 60 day sentences. The 31-member executive board of UPWA Local 1124 is being tried for contempt of court. Soon after the strike began 76-year old judge L. R. Rivarde, a friend of the sugar barons, issued a sweeping anti-labor injunction covering not only the strikers but the whole population of St. John the Baptist Parish. The women of Reserve have launched a petition drive to recall Judge Rivarde. This can be done under a rarely-used state law.

### WIDE COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The morale of the strikers is high. Indeed, it is not just a strike of two locals, but of two towns against the companies. Community support is practically solid. What were founded as company towns have become union towns.

**The strikers have been receiving financial aid from other Packinghouse locals and also from CIO and AFL unions. All assistance is deeply needed and welcomed.**

There are daily strike meetings and on June 26 a mass meeting in the Reserve High School auditorium was attended by strikers and by sympathetic unionists from all over Louisiana. Women workers and wives and daughters of strikers have been very active in strike work. A special women's meeting is held weekly. At a recent one the women asked to take over the picketing. An arrangement has been worked out whereby the women take over some of the daytime picketing.

One of the most heartening aspects of the strike is the interracial solidarity of the sugar workers. The two towns and the union locals are about evenly composed of Negro and white. The white workers are mostly descendants of old French settlers. **Self-segregation at meetings, which had always been the custom in the past, has mostly disappeared in the course of the strike and the daily meetings. As the June issue of the UPWA's newspaper, The Packinghouse Worker, says: "White and Negro picket together, eat together, and fight the battle hand-in-hand."**

International solidarity of labor was effectively demonstrated when delegations from the Cuban Confederation of Labor and the Cuban Federation of Sugar Workers flew to UPWA headquarters in Chicago to confer about aiding the Louisiana strikers. The Cuban labor leaders pledged that they would prevent any shipments of raw sugar from Cuba to the struck plants. The Cuban labor movement enforced a similar embargo during a 1953 refinery strike in Louisiana.

At the moment there is a grave danger that the labor haters of Louisiana will succeed in having the national guard called into the strike areas. A state senator has already requested this strike-breaking action of Governor Kennon.

### MIAMI HOTEL STRIKE

In the Miami area the strike of 2,800 hotel workers continued in the face of hamstringing court injunctions and the right-to-work law. Because of the injunction-happy judges, only two of the 22 struck hotels can be picketed. The union has appealed these injunctions to the Florida Supreme Court and the whole Florida labor movement is watching this important legal fight.

Particularly galling to the strikers is the blackout curtain the hotel owners association has lowered over the strike. The hotel owners are big advertisers in newspapers throughout the country and they have used their influence to kill most of the news about the strike. Even paid ads submitted by the union have been refused by some newspapers.

**An attempt to break through this news blackout has been made by the AFL international union and by sister locals. In New York City, for example, the restaurant workers staged a one-hour protest demonstration in Times Square on behalf of the Miami strikers. The New York locals are also planning a 1,000 car motorcade to Miami to force the papers to notice the strike.**

The labor press has been digging into the somewhat shady pasts of the big-shot Miami hotel owners. A lot of the data comes from the Kefauver committee reports and shows connections with gamblers and other underworld figures. An idea of what the hotel owners are like may be gathered from the fact that the person listed as president and general manager of the Roney Plaza Hotel, one of the swankiest of the "gold-plated sweatshops" on Miami Beach, is none other than Corporal G. David Schine. **This is the millionaire playboy and "subversion expert" who figured in the news a year ago as Senator McCarthy's favorite army private.**

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Although it is nearly a month since the conclusion of the subscription campaign, subs continue to come in from the branches. Many of these subs were promised to our agents during the campaign, and by returning to the potential readers, these promises were carried out.

Other subs are a result of continuing the work started during the campaign. All this proves the correctness of the point made by the Militant editorial staff, when they said in their letter printed in the Militant Army of June 27th: "The most important results in sub work came from sustained efforts on individuals. . . A persistent and persuasive appeal was all that was needed to recruit them as Militant subscribers."

Our **Chicago** agent, **C. Houston** writes: "Enclosed is $3.00 for two 6-month subs. More subs will be coming and a complete analysis of our successful sub drive will be mailed soon."

**Helen Sherman** writes from **Minneapolis:** "The Editor's letter on the Militant subscription campaign very aptly expressed our estimation and bore out our experience here in Minneapolis. We 'fell in' readily with the plans for the campaign and wound up really surprised with the quantity of subs brought in. . . Please take care of the enclosed one-year renewal."

**St. Louis's Dick Clark** writes: "I followed your suggestion and sold a new six-month sub on a local delivery basis. I have three promises for subs later."

Subs have been coming in from **Pittsburgh, Detroit** and **Philadelphia.** St. Paul has been consistently sending in subs, and **Helen Baker** of **Seattle** says: "I am enclosing one more sub. We are following up on some of the promises and will be sending in a few as time goes on. Clara Kaye came in on a discussion of Zionism while delivering a copy of the Militant. This reader, always intensely interested in both the Militant and the F. I., happened to have some friends in when Clara arrived. She was urged to speak on our position on the question."

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## Reactions to Steel Settlement

For the most part the steel settlement (see page one) was greeted with an air of sober satisfaction by the capitalist press. The New York Times expressed relief: "A serious storm that twenty-four hours ago seemed perilously imminent has suddenly blown, as it were, out to sea."

In a more somber vein the Wall Street Journal commented, "A steel wage increase which will result in increasing steel prices an average of $7.50 a ton is by no means a cause for unalloyed rejoicing. But the settlement is not without its satisfactions." The main satisfaction cited by the WSJ is that "a settlement was reached without a strike."

The Christian Science Monitor reacted with bubbling enthusiasm. Over the lead article July 1 it ran the headline: "Economy Boom Halts Shortest Steel Strike." In thus ascribing the basic cause of the settlement to the prosperity of the economy the Monitor is not far from wrong.

The steel settlement, even more than the recent one in auto, reveals that the highest circles of Big Business are willing to give some concessions and keep the plants open as long as the avalanche of profits keeps rolling in. Behind this willingness, of course, is their realization that a tough policy means bitter class struggle. So, with the eager cooperation of the labor officials they are willing to grant some concessions and postpone show-down fights with the working class.

But the Christian Science Monitor could not refrain from milking the cow of the capitalist war boom for just a little more than it has to give. Swept along by its own enthusiasm the lead article becomes arrogant and boastful: "The fast settlement, perhaps above all, is a signal that United States capitalism, sharing its ever-mounting prosperity with its workers, is still on the up-and-up — making economic history in unprecedented boom that is putting to shame the Marxist dogma. . . Where, it is being asked, is the 'suffering proletariat'?. . . Labor is in many ways today just another part of the great American middle class. . . Capitalism isn't what it used to be!"

The only thing omitted from this braggadocio is the most salient fact about the prosperity of American economy; namely, that it is based on the most colossal military build-up in the history of the world. This build-up, which devours two-thirds of the national budget and constitutes the main support of the "prosperity," is leading towards a war which admittedly will put into question the very existence of humanity on this planet. That's the truth about the "up-and-up" of American capitalism. Take away this hideous crutch and it will be "down-and-out" for capitalism.

Also, isn't it a bit of an imprudent sneer, "Where is the suffering proletariat now?" Capitalist prosperity or no capitalist prosperity, war or peace, the proletariat, in the U.S. and in the world, does plenty of suffering. Let the editorial snobs of the capitalist newspapers get out of their air conditioned offices and go down to the auto plants and steel mills and see how the workers earn their wages under U.S. capitalism. And let them go into the sweat shops of the North and South, the agricultural fields, the slums which still grow faster than any other feature of American life, and tell the workers that Marx has been refuted, because, you see, there is no more suffering in the working class.

We Marxists have no reason to deny the fact of prosperity in the U.S. But we see the prosperity of American capitalism in its true context, in a world in which capitalism is in convulsive decline, suffering serious defeats from the colonial people, in the context of the inexorable laws of the capitalist system which has led it to the brink of doom. The stimulation of a sick economic system with the narcotic of war preparations may get the capitalists hopped up and glassy eyed about their "triumph," but class conscious workers must keep a steady eye on the main curve of history in its world-wide evolution. This curve shows unmistakably the doom of capitalism and the eruption of all its contradictions right here in its last remaining stronghold.

## Are Civil Liberties Being Restored?

The news on the civil liberties front last week showed two opposite currents. First was the trend of toning down the hysteria and undoing some of the "excesses."

For example, the Department of Agriculture cleared Wolf Ladejinsky, whom six months ago it had labelled a security risk. A federal judge ordered expunged the disloyalty stain on the record of former diplomat John Stewart Service. A House committee quietly dropped from the new federal housing bill the notorious Gwinn amendment barring "subversives" from low-rent housing projects.

But a contrary trend was markedly visible. First, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee put on a witch-hunt circus worthy of the days when McCarthy was chairman. A character the committee had dredged up somewhere told spy stories of the fairy tale genre. Then an attack was launched on the New York Times. The smear was that a suspect Times reporter had endangered the success of the Korean War by his news stories. In the same week, a school, for the first time in history was ordered by the Subversive Activities Control Board to register as a Communist front. Finally, the House unanimously approved increasing Smith Act penalties from six years and $5,000 fine to 20 years and $20,000.

All this shows how tenuous and ineffective is the policy of trying to trim down the witch hunt rather than to destroy it. This "practical" policy of attacking the witch hunt on its periphery rather than striking at its heart is actually the height of impracticability. It can yield only deceptive successes on the least vital cases. It will not drive the witch hunt out of political life. Indeed this very policy enables them to strike back because they utilize its basic assumption, which is that there must be a loyalty program, Smith Act, etc., to protect us from the "Communist menace."

Only a return to full civil liberties for all political views, including that of the Communist Party, can smash the witch hunt. That means fighting the very concepts of a subversive list, Smith Act, and loyalty program. The ruling class will not easily give up these strong basic positions it has captured in the post war assault on American political freedom. It will take a strong power to dislodge them. Only labor has that power. Up till now it has hardly used it in the defense of civil liberties. It is time it took on this task.

## Thanks for Nothing

The Republican National Committee claims a record for the Eisenhower administration for the increase in the number of women in high public office. The Republican record, they say, serves to "highlight the thirty-five years of woman suffrage."

There are 17 women in the U.S. Congress, 308 women in State Legislatures, about 50 women mayors, 150 in judicial posts, four of them working as federal judges.

The Democrats also like to crow about the room they have made for women in public life. Governor Harriman, a few months ago, even went so far as to suggest that women in the Democratic Party should "rebel" against the domination of important party committees by the men.

In a bid for the women's vote and in order to get willing campaign workers, the capitalist politicians open the door a wee bit and allow a few women to get public jobs. Then they pat themselves on the back for their liberal ideas on equality.

If they are such great champions of women's rights, why don't they put their money where their mouth is? Why have both Democratic and Republican parties failed to pass legislation to give women equal pay for equal work?

This kind of equality would cost the capitalists millions of dollars in the United States. Words are cheap. But real equality is much too expensive for the boss parties.

When there are not enough men around to fight the wars and produce for wars, the capitalists are happy to discover that women can do a "man's job." But when production is curtailed, they say, "a woman's place is in the home."

The capitalist parties do nothing for the women who work for wages. They do even less to ease the burden of the working class housewife. Sylvia Porter, N. Y. Post columnist, after noting the mass production technique of office cleaning, asked the question: "Is it ridiculous to suggest cleaning of homes might be placed on that basis too?" And further: "Is it nonsense to suggest the concept of the community nursery could be vastly developed and extended?"

These suggestions, and many more ideas that would ease the life of working class women, are "ridiculous" only if one asks the capitalist rulers to hand them to us. Mass handling of laundry, for example, is already quite common. Yet millions of housewives still have to do the family wash by hand.

The women who have begun to think about politics in the last ten years, will do some thinking of their own. To Eisenhower and the Democrats they will say: "Thanks for nothing." Then they will join the labor movement to fight for real equality for all women.

# An Auto Worker's Views on Automation

**[We are reprinting in full a letter from an auto worker to the Chicago Daily News, June 23, the editor's note, and a comment by Howard Mayhew in behalf of the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Mayhew's contribution to the discussion was published in Chicago and distributed to auto workers there. — Ed.]**

To the Editor
Chicago Daily News:

I've been reading a lot of statements and articles about "automation" and what a big, bad bogeyman it is. Really nothing to get excited about. After all, "automation" in our modern-day factories simply replaces human judgment with mechanical judgment.

But I've waited in vain for somebody to speak up who really knows about "automation" and what it does to the people in the plant. I'm here to say that "automation" **IS** a modern-day ogre, swallowing up jobs by the hundreds—replacing workers with machines.

I know all the arguments favoring "automation." After all, we can't stand in the way of progress, can we? But the argument that "automation" will create jobs is one that I can't buy.

In my department in the plant where I work, we used to have 100 women making generator straps for diesel locomotives. These girls operated punch presses, annealing ovens and hand-taped coils for the generators.

These 100 women are no longer with us. They have all been laid off.

* * *

In their place, there is a machine—50 feet long, does everything but eat out of your lunch pail. In operation, it makes many strange noises. It is known as a "generator strap swedging and annealing line." My job is to set up and keep this machine running.

I might add, I am not getting any more money for running this machine than I did before the girls left.

"Automation" it's wonderful. Why, they have factories today that turn out complex mechanisms that have never been touched by human hands.

The UAW-CIO has achieved a tremendous victory in its GAW employment plan with Ford and General Motors, even though the people who have already lost their jobs due to "automation" may not think so.

In my opinion, there is no question that "automation" is here to stay.

But are we?

**Tom Waldron**
**Melrose Park**

HOWARD MAYHEW

### Mayhew's Comment

Tom Waldron, a worker with a first hand experience with automation in General Motor's giant locomotive plant poses a question that faces us all in his letter published in the Chicago Daily News. Having put the example before us of an automatic machine displacing 100 employes in a single department, Waldron says he "cannot buy the argument that automation will create jobs." He concludes with the thought-provoking question—"In my opinion, there is no question that automation is here to stay. **But are we?"**

Yes, automation is here to stay. Essentially automatic machines are labor saving devices. The history of the advance of civilization is the history of the **economy of time** needed for the production of socially necessary goods and services. Unless one holds that there is virtue in work for the sake of work it is clear that our problem is not in the machine itself, but somewhere else. But, as Waldron asks, are "We here to stay?" What will automation mean to the workers in the plants, and, we should add, what is to be done about it?

The wage workers in their mass constitute the dominant section of the entire population. Therefore the problem of automation involves the future of the country as a whole. The key to the answer comes down in the final analysis to this — **who owns the machines? If the machines continue to be privately owned the answer must inevitably be increasing unemployment.**

Why must this be true? The private owners of the machines are captives of their own system, helpless to do anything about it if they wanted to. With private profit as God, the owner installs the automatic machine to increase his profit. But clearly, it is not the expensive machine but the elimination of the wage workers, that the machine makes possible, that increases his profits. Any individual capitalist who has scruples about displacing workers with machines —or who can't afford their high price — simply fails in the competition or is forced to merge. The historic trend of the accumulation of greater and greater wealth into the hands of fewer and fewer people on the one hand, and the increase of the insecurity and misery of the mass of the people on the other, continues.

What then is to be done about it? Since the workers do the producing — yes even produce the automatic machines which the bosses use to displace them — what is more reasonable than to distribute that production as it is needed in the interests of the entire population. Under a system of **production for use** instead of profit the more we produced the more we would have and the capitalist incentives for unemployment and the capitalist profit drives for markets (which lead to war) would be eliminated.

Because the wage workers and working farmers constitute the overwhelming majority in this country we have every right to see to it that laws are passed to prevent the corporation owners from using their economic power to pervert automation into an instrument to throw workers out of employment, as they do today.

This of course means that labor must exercise its **independent** political power.

We are fast approaching a crossroads in history. Only the organized political unity of the working class can protect civilization by turning the "ogre" of automation (as Tom Waldron characterizes it) into a mechanism for abundance for all.

How can this be done? The first step would be for the unions to throw off the yoke of subservience to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. They would do this by organizing their own independent Labor Party. Then for the first time the majority of the people in this country who work for wages would have their own representation in government.

**The choice for us therefore is —Capitalist automation with its unemployment and war or socialist automation with abundance and peace.**

**Howard Mayhew, for the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party**
**777 W. Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois**

# ...Martial Law Declared in Chile

**(Continued from page 1)**

system throughout the country went into the streets to voice their demands for the right of asylum for Peruvian students who had been expelled from Argentina as suspected "communists." The students demanded the expulsion of those Chilean government officials who were responsible for denying this traditional democratic guarantee.

The militancy of the strike wave can be seen in the fact that, for the first time in Chile's history the tactic of the sit-down strike was used. **Twelve thousand leather workers occupied more than 160 factories. Union bureaucrats ended the sit-down strike after promises of arbitration. But the bold assault on the "sacred" right of private property by the men and women of the leather industry stirred the working class throughout Chile.**

**1946 GENERAL STRIKE**

The current mass upsurge of the workers is reminiscent of the 1946 general strike that brought to a standstill all industrial and commercial activity. The struggles of that year grew out of government attempts to destroy the unions of 12,000 striking nitrate workers. The general strike followed the police murder of seven workers and the wounding of more than a hundred others who were demonstrating in support of the nitrate union.

The present crisis that is sweeping Chile is a result, first of all, of the disastrous inflation that has steadily grown worse. At the end of 1954 Chile was suffering the worst inflation in the world. Only South Korea came close to the inflation that has impoverished the people of Chile.

**The cost of living increased last year by 78%. During the first six months of this year the peso dropped another 84% in value.**

**WALL STREET'S ROLE**

The economic difficulties in Chile, as in all of Latin America, are primarily to be laid at the doorstep of Wall Street. Big Business in the United States gets 40% of all its foreign investment profits in Latin America. As a matter of fact, the U.S. takes annually at least $182½ million more out of Latin America than it puts into this part of the Western Hemisphere in the form of capital.

This huge drain on the wealth in South America is particularly true of Chile. The two principal export commodities of this country — nitrate and copper — are primarily under the domination of U.S. capital.

Wall Street's greed for superprofits from the labor of the workers of Chile is insatiable. This year extraordinary pressure was brought to bear on the Chilean government by U.S. interests to grant bigger and better concessions to foreign capital.

The Anglo-Lautaro Nitrate Company, controlling interest of which is owned by U.S. imperialists, produces 65% of all Chilean nitrate. This company has been delaying a $25 million program for necessary new machinery and modernization in an attempt to force major concessions from the Chilean government. The company's demands include alteration of exchange rates in favor of the dollar, larger "depreciation of capital" allowances and untaxed "reasonable profits."

**An agreement along these lines was signed by Ibanez with company officials last December. But so far popular resistance to this capitulation to Yankee imperialism has prevented the agreement from becoming law.**

U.S. capital also dominates the even more important copper industry of Chile. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, one of the Big Three in the U.S. copper business, owns rich enough mines to last a century even if production were increased considerably. The Braden Copper Company owns the famous "mountain of copper" south of Santiago.

U.S. copper interests in Chile succeeded in February in forcing the government to revise the copper law to the advantage of the U.S. copper kings.

Above all the U.S. interests want to crush the militant labor movement of Chile. They would like to put a military dictatorship in power as they have done in so many other Latin American countries.

**The working class of Chile, however, is one of the most militant and powerful in South America. It will not be easily crushed by its enemies.**

# ...STEEL SETTLEMENT

**(Continued from page 1)**

**period in 1954. It did this, moreover, with a payroll that was $3 million smaller than in 1954. This increase in production by almost a half-million tons with a work force reduced by over 25,000 men shows the tremendous increase in steelworkers' productivity and the beginning of automation.**

**PROFITS PER WORKER**

The profits of U.S. Steel for the first quarter of 1955 went up 62% to $72,652,000 after taxes. Steel union economists estimated that the company made a net profit of 54c. on each hour of work done by each employe. Based on profits before taxes, the figure comes to a profit of $1.09 on each hour of work. These figures are, of course, much lower than the reality. They are based on the company's own published figures which are carefully doctored to minimize the profit picture.

According to the CIO economists, U.S. Steel could have given a 30c. an hour wage increase and, without raising the price of steel, its net profits for 1955 would still have been higher than for any year since 1916.

Despite the union's position of strength McDonald did not know just what to ask for. He went into negotiations asking a "substantial" increase but not naming a figure. There was no hint of asking for the 30-hour week. Indeed, he feared that expectations might get out of bounds and warned the union against "unreasonable" demands this year, admonishing that the "major goals" of 1956 must be kept in mind.

When Reuther signed the Ford contract for an estimated 20c. an hour (including 5c. supplementary unemployment benefit), McDonald knew where to set his figure. This was based on two factors. McDonald's rivalry with Reuther (they head the two biggest CIO unions) for power and prestige in the about to be merged AFL-CIO; secondly, protection of his own position in the steelworkers. Never a popular leader, he has been much criticized for his unabashed arm-in-arm tours of steel plants with the steel barons. Further, his attempt to put an office stooge into the union's Vice-Presidency has been challenged by a sizeable minority of the executive board. An election fight in the union will soon reach a climax.

For these reasons McDonald had to get a respectable settlement. Taking the UAW-Ford 20c. settlement as a yardstick, McDonald aimed for 21c. (one cent more than Reuther). **Although he is now quoted as saying that next year the steel union will go after "an honest-to-God" Guaranteed Annual Wage, he offered to take the 21c. in the form of a 16c. an hour wage boost, a 5c. an hour GAW (Reuther's formula) and a three year contract. The steel corporations, however, turned this down and insisted the talks be confined to the wage re-opening clause and not contract changes.**

Even so the steel settlement compares favorably with the auto settlements. As McDonald's boosters are already pointing out, it means "double the money in the pay envelope" of the auto increase. Also, the union's hands are left untied for a new contract fight a year from now. The settlement will probably bolster McDonald's position in his own union and in the merged AFL-CIO.

**UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM**

In any event the unemployment problem will confront the steel leadership more and more. Even under the present boom conditions the union has 156,000 unemployed. Most of these are in fabricating, but U.S. Steel is now producing more with less workers. The already undertaken building of new plants will speed the automating of steel workers out of jobs. Last year, when production was down, there were over 200,000 unemployed steel workers and many more thousands were working only part time. The only answer to this deadly problem is the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

Lest anyone feel sorry for the steel corporations, it should be noted that they feel quite happy. They know that they have got off cheaply. Moreover, they took the occasion of the wage settlement to boost steel prices a whopping $7.50 a ton. This not only passes on all of the wage increase to the consumer but it gouges out a big new chunk of profits for the steel corporations.

**The $7.50 increase caused even the New York Times (July 2) to arch its eyebrows and report: "The size of the increase came as a surprise to industry experts who had forecast a maximum rise of $6.00 a ton."**

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# World Events

**MEXICAN WOMEN VOTED** for the first time in a general national election on July 3. New members of the lower house of Mexico's Congress were elected. Twenty of the candidates seeking office were women.

* * *

**OVER ONE HUNDRED MEN AND WOMEN WERE ARRESTED** in Saigon, Vietnam, for demonstrating in favor of elections to unite North and South Indochina. Elections for all Indo-China in 1956 were agreed upon in the truce reached at Geneva last year. One reason the U. S. puppet regime of Ngo Diem in South Vietnam is opposed to living up to the terms of the truce is because there are eight million more Vietnamese in the North than in the South.

* * *

**THREE THOUSAND PEOPLE IN ALGERIA** were jailed during the first week-end in July on suspicion of giving aid to the struggle for the independence of Algeria.

* * *

**MINE WORKERS IN SPAIN** sent an open letter to the Miners' International Federation protesting the fact that an observer delegate of the Franco Government was admitted to the International Labor Conference held in Geneva recently. Pointing out that the Spanish people had hoped that the victory against the fascist powers in the Second World War would bring liberation to Spain, the miners said, "Since then the Spanish people has felt itself more and more betrayed by a disloyalty whose culminating point was the infamous pact between Franco and the USA. Even Soviet Russia has 'forgotten' to settle accounts with the (Franco) Blue Division."

* * *

**BRAZILIAN DOCK WORKERS** in the coffee port of Santos, Brazil, went on strike July 1 to suport union demands for a 30% wage increase. Three thousand workers began their strike after rejecting a 25% offer.

* * *

**BELGIAN DOCK WORKERS** entered their second week of strike on July 3 when a back-to-work movement collapsed. The "wildcat" strike, involving 14,000 longshoremen, began June 27 when a dozen workers were refused unemployment compensation on the ground that they had refused job offers. More than 270 ships have been held up in the harbor of Antwerp **since the strike began.**

* * *

**IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA WAS NATIONALIZED** July 1. The owners of India's largest 34-year-old banking institution were generously compensated — to the complete satisfaction of Indian businessmen. Those who bought shares in the Bank for the rupee equivalent of $105 will get $370.65.

* * *

**THE FRENCH CAMEROONS,** former African colony of Germany, now under United Nations trusteeship, has joined the tide of African revolt against imperialist rule. The Union of the Peoples of Cameroon which has demanded an end to the trusteeship, the election of a legislative assembly and independence, called its members out on strike against all European employers. The French are accused of massacring 5,000 Africans and burning the African section of the port city of Duala in its effort to suppress the mass upsurge. These charges are now being investigated by the UN Trusteeship Commission.

* * *

**PERON'S CONGRESS IN ARGENTINA** passed resolutions on June 30 in honor of the Independence Day of Canada and the Philippine Islands. It failed to honor July 4, the Independence Day of the United States. This omission was considered due to the fact that the United States is widely regarded as responsible for the June 16 naval officers revolt against the Peron government.

* * *

**TWO ATTACKS ON THE CHINESE MAINLAND** by Chiang's nationalist "commandos" in recent weeks were repulsed by the Chinese army, according to reports from Peking. A total of ten nationalist raids on the Fukien coast of China were reported since December of last year.

* * *

**THE BRITISH DOCK STRIKE ENDED** July 4 when workers in the northern ports voted to resume work. London dockers voted two weeks ago to return only when the northern ports agreed to do so. The six-week strike left the basic issue of bargaining representation for the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union unresolved. But the strikers in the northern ports, in voting to return, insisted that recruits be retained by their union and the fight for recognition continued.

* * *

**BRITISH BOMBED TRIBAL VILLAGES** in the Aden Protectorate Area of Arabia. The Royal British Air Force carried out the bombing. The Colonial office claimed that tribesmen killed a civilian and three government guards.

* * *

**BRITISH CONSERVATIVES** are casting longing eyes overseas at the Taft Hartley Act. Using the dockers' and seamen's strikes as the pretext a propaganda campaign is being launched on the necessity to curb strikes. The Economist, voice of British capital, advocates measures that would prevent strikes unless all other avenues were exhausted and the workers had taken a secret ballot. Others recommend setting up "impartial tribunals" to deal with strikes.

* * *

**REFUGEES** from North Vietnam are demanding repatriation in increasing numbers. On June 18 a demonstration of many hundreds invaded the courtyard of the International Armistice Control Commission declaring they would not move until they were sent home. A list of 1,000 names was presented for immediate repatriation.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX — MONDAY, JULY 11, 1955 — NUMBER 28


## The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

### New Developments in 'Little Scottsboro' Case

Last week this column told the story of the brutal, unprovoked beating of a 16-year old Negro youth by a Georgia state trooper. The victim was William H. Owens of Kentucky. He had taken a job driving the family of an elderly white barber from Kentucky to Florida. The state cop was incensed at the sight of two white women sitting in the front of the car with the Negro youth.

He stopped the car, beat and choked Owens, hit him over the head with handcuffs, ordered the protesting family away, "because I don't want any witnesses," and finally took Owens off to jail.

Here are the subsequent developments in this case of police brutality. Ted Poston, reporter of the New York Post, telephoned Chief of the Georgia State Police, Colonel W. C. Dominy, to inquire about the case. Dominy said: "That n - - - - r is quite fortunate that he ain't down here now. In fact the n - - - - r is very lucky to be living. He was most discourteous and rude to the trooper. And it's a wonder he wasn't shot. Of course he (Trooper J. W. Southwell) hit him over the head with his handcuffs — but only once. He had to bump him over the head with something in order to bring him to his senses."

The four members of the Mattingly family, who begged the cop to stop his terrible beating of Owens, state that the youth offered no resistance, only pleading for mercy.

Then the Chief of Georgia's State Police declared that he had thoroughly investigated the case, that it was completely closed and that, "I think the officer is to be praised for exercising such restraint. Southwell had an accident about a year or so ago, and he had no business fighting up and down the road with a n - - - - r. Any other officer would have shot him and had it over with. I still say the n - - - - r's lucky."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on July 1 demanded that the U.S. Justice Department investigate the case of young Owens.

In Georgia the State Conference of NAACP branches also demanded that Governor Griffin investigate the beating of Owens. Apparently because of indignation over the case in New York and elsewhere, Gov. Griffin, an avowed enemy of the NAACP, felt it necessary to reply. He said he was ordering an investigation. The investigator would be no other than Colonel W. C. Dominy, Chief of the Georgia State Police, who has been quoted extensively at the beginning of this article.

It is apparent to all what kind of an "investigation" Dominy will make. What isn't as apparent, because here we are dealing with slicker customers, is the kind of investigation the Department of Justice will make, if it investigates at all. This outfit, with its FBI and crime laboratories, is a bunch of real eager beavers when it comes to witch hunting — if they can't find witnesses they'll produce a Harvey Matusow or Paul Crouch. But when it comes to investigating white-supremacist violations of Negroes' civil rights their heart just isn't in it.

## The Woes of Profiteering

By Robert Chester

Every employer, from the individual to the giant corporation, believes he is entitled to a "fair profit" under this system of "free enterprise." By this he means he is entitled to all he can get. But in the realm of war contracts where does "fair profit" end and profiteering begin? This question is causing dispute in Washington.

Under Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program during World War II, cost-plus contracts generally provided for an average profit of 12%. This same figure was also the basis for the now defunct Excess Profits Law, which began its calculation of profits by exempting 12% of capital investment from the tax.

Roosevelt began his program by demanding that workers give up their overtime pay and work six or seven days a week at ten hours a day. But when a corporation made a huge profit on its war contract a representative of the Government Renegotiations Board sat down amicably with a corporation executive and worked out the size of the rebate. This pleasant procedure, of course, did not prevent the growth of a new crop of millionaires. By this method only $11 billions were returned to the government out of the hundreds of billions raked in by wartime contracts.

After the war a clamor was raised to "free the hands of business." The Renegotiations Act was terminated. But with the Korean "police action" came another flood of fat war contracts.

Another Renegotiations Act was passed, this time with a number of "exemptions" for the suffering corporations. As a result only $355 million out of the tens of billions paid out have been refunded.

With the end of 1954 this Act died although war orders continue at the same high levels. When a move was begun in the House Ways and Means Committee to reinstitute a Renegotiations Act howls of anguish and threats were heard.

In the course of the House Committee's hearings Theron J. Rice, of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, flatly stated that the corporations "have little interest in selling to the government" if their contracts were to be renegotiated. Ross Nichols of the National Association of Manufacturers claimed that renegotiation would provide no incentive to cut costs on war contracts. In other words they threatened, "We want more profits or we won't play."

The Wall Street Journal, however, admonished these crass spokesmen and pointed out that the Act was a corporation's best defense against charges of profiteering. The secret of this "restrained" and "sober" view of the Journal is that they are speaking for the Big Boys at the summit. Unlike some of the smaller fry, (millionaires instead of billionaires) they are not interested in public brawls with the government about their profits. They have more effective ways of arranging such matters. After all, who runs the government anyhow. A quiet chat with Charlie Wilson over at the Defense Department; a few words with this or that billionaire in the cabinet and matters can be ironed out.

For smaller corporations on the make, however, these "smooth" techniques are not feasible. They must use every means of pressure and when called to account, then scream about their rights under "free enterprise."

There is one way of putting a stop to these conflicts between the government and Big Business, and among different sections of Big Business itself. Nationalize the war industries under workers' control! Then they'll all scream in one chorus, unitedly. But it won't do them any good.

## Notes from the News

ACTION FLARED UP in the 15-month Kohler strike in Wisconsin July 6. One thousand workers successfully prevented the company from unloading clay from a freighter in the dock area of Sheboygan, Wisconsin. In addition the property of several scabs in the area was damaged. Mayor Ploetz announced to the crowd at the dock that Sheriff Mosch had taken over law enforcement in the city. The NLRB will hear the union's charges of unfair labor practices by the Kohler Co. on July 20.

* * *

WHEN A FACTORY OWNER is convicted of setting fire to his own plant, that's news. Ray V. Cantrell, owner of a pajama factory in Bessemer, Alabama, accused the workers picketing his plant of arson but a jury found him guilty instead. At the time of the fire Cantrell was filling orders for a plant in Miami closed by a strike.

* * *

A NEGRO VETERAN, Harold Miller, convicted and given a life sentence on the charge of rape, has the backing of the Illionois American Civil Liberties Union in his appeal. He was accused by a woman suffering from schizophrenia with delusions and hallucinations.

* * *

A SHORTER WORK WEEK and a guaranteed annual wage are demands recommended by the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. Lee W. Minton, President of this old, established, craft union, gave these demands as the necessary answer to automation. "Everything will be automatic except a new job for the union people who will be displaced," he commented.

* * *

AWARE, INC., the self-appointed censor to "combat the Communist conspiracy in the entertainment world," was roundly condemned by a two-to-one vote of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. The resolution of condemnation charged AWARE with using "the now familiar smear methods of interference and innuendo from alleged 'public records'."

* * *

NEBRASKA'S "RIGHT TO WORK" BILL prohibiting union shop agreements was upheld in the state Supreme Court when it ruled that the Federal Railway Labor Act, which permits the union shop, was now superseded. In this ruling state slave labor laws take precedence over federal law. The unions are appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court.

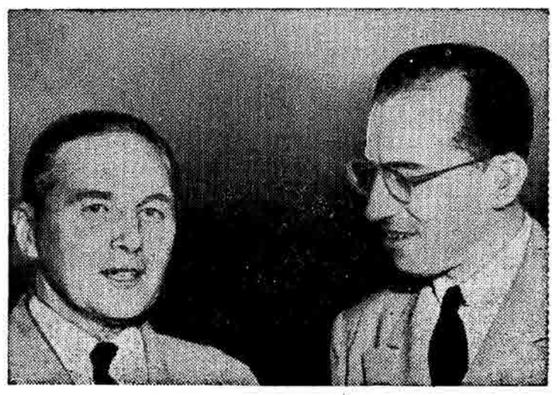
* * *

THE CIO WOMEN'S LEAGUE of New Jersey held its first constitutional convention. A total of 150 women, representing seven CIO unions to which they or their husbands belong, set themselves a rounded program of political action and community service. They also have a program of strike service which includes activities such as telephone contact work, collecting food for strikers' families, and marching the picket lines.

* * *

CURRENT SMITH ACT VICTIMS now total 115. They include 17 still in jail, 57 awaiting Appeals Court decisions, 33 awaiting trial under the "force and violence" clause of the Act. Two have been convicted and six are awaiting trial on "membership in the Communist Party" ruling. Not included in this list is the large number under persecution by other witch-hunt laws. Also not included are those who have served their sentences under the Smith "Gag" Act and have been deprived of their Civil rights, like the eighteen Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union leaders who were convicted in the first Smith Act trial in 1941.

### *Testifies at Vaccine Probe*



Dr. Jonas E. Salk (r.), developer of the polio vaccine, chats with Dr. John R. Paul of Yale University before their appearance at the House commerce subcommittee. Dr. Salk told committee he doubted vaccine was harmful in any way as some scientists and government officials have intimated.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### Wants Articles On Delinquency

Editor:

I enjoy reading the Militant each week. It has many able writers who cover both the labor and international scene very thoroughly.

Now that the capitalist press and its apologists are using much space trying to apologize for juvenile delinquency, proclaiming back-to-God movements, etc., as the solution, it's time that the socialist and liberal press begin digging up statistics to prove that juvenile delinquency is maladjustment due to the breakdown in the economic system.

I hope to see articles pertaining to this much discussed situation in the Militant soon.

Also, recently I read in the Militant of the pamphlet, "How to Spot a Communist." I immediately made application for a copy of this brochure. Enclosed herewith is the reply from the Dept. of the Army, Information Section Hq. First Army, Governors Island, New York 4, New York.

As stated above, the Militant has many able writers covering very intelligently the evils plaguing our capitalist society. More power to them.

C. M. C.
Cleveland, Ohio

[C. M. C. encloses a letter from a Lt. Colonel Yeiser, Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. Army, stating that the pamphlet has been rescinded and that no further distribution will be made. The army withdrew the pamphlet after a barrage of editorial ridicule from the labor and liberal press. — Ed.]

### New NMU Hiring System Criticized

Editor:

I would just like to send you these few lines, concerning the new group hiring system that has been established in the National Maritime Union by Joe Curran and his gang. Now this kind of hiring system is no good at all. Because, as you can see, this kind of setup would only profit one group — that is, only those in Group 1. I think that you will agree with me, that this is unfair towards the balance of seamen that happen to be in the unfortunate groups 2, 3 and 4. Because, as far as this group business is concerned, they stand the chance of maybe never shipping out. Now I have seen the working of it in many ports that I have been in. I have had talks with many seamen like myself and they don't like this kind of system at all. It seems that they really want to do something about it. I guess that they might not know exactly just what course of action to take so that they can make the system come back to the rotary shipping like it was before.

Therefore, I said to myself that I would drop you, the people of the Militant, a few lines to outline it to you. The recent shipping system should be abolished and we should return to the rotary shipping system like it was before, instead of having this rotten system of group shipping, which was cooked up by a few big brains in the NMU National Council Meeting.

And so I now send you the National Shipping Rules and also the NMU Pilot, so that you can read J. B. McDougall's speech on the West Coast (Pages 21 to 24). and in disagreement with him is the San Francisco meeting of March 28, 1955.

Therefore I hope that you will take it up and enlighten all those seamen who are awake, and those who are asleep, so that they will understand the whole truth of this rotten system, and have it rescinded once and for all

J. M.
Marcus Hook, Pa.

[We agree with the writer of the above letter that the new hiring setup in the NMU established by Joe Curran violates the old democratic rotary shipping system. This is the result of trying to live with the Taft-Hartley law, and represents a most serious retreat on the part of the union. The trouble with these retreats however is that the union's enemies are never satisfied. Give the devil a finger and he wants the whole hand. In our opinion there is no way out except through a militant battle to repeal the Taft-Hartley law as well as all government attempts to regiment seamen — Ed.]

### Working In the South

Editor:

Traveling through the South I saw some of the conditions to which workers are subjected. I was in the southern part of Texas and obtained a job as a laborer. We were paid 70c an hour for digging ditches for a water company. Most of the workers were Mexican-Americans. They reported for work at 7 A.M. and worked as late as 6 or 7 P.M. They had no unions, and of course, no vacations, paid or unpaid; and no protection in case of accident or sickness. In fact as one worker put it to me, "You'll be lucky if you have a job when you come back after being sick."

There was no question of raises. Even the ones who had worked the longest made the same as when they first started. Also there was no retirement with pay; when you were retired you were fired. And seniority meant only that you knew more and were expected to work harder and faster.

This wasn't just an isolated case. Jobs were hard to find and the pay was always very low. One man offered me a job as a bricklayer's helper for 65c an hour. The union jobs paid a little better. For example a union carpenter made $1.50 to $1.75 an hour.

The workers who think that they can get along without unions, or who think that unions are no good, should take a little trip to some of these Southern states and find a job. They'll soon see why more and more shops are running down there. They have a near-perfect set up for super-exploitation.

But the recent strikes in the South show that the workers are beginning to fight back against this exploitation. We union workers up North should do all we can to help our sister and brother workers in the South to organize and get some decent living wages and working conditions.

J. M.
New York City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# New "Get Bridges" Trial Opens in San Francisco

By Roy Gale

**SAN FRANCISCO, June 30 — The Government, on June 20, opened its civil suit to strip Harry Bridges of his citizenship. They charge that Bridges lied in 1945 when he denied membership in the Communist Party to get his citizenship papers. The Government is out to prove two things — that the Communist Party seeks to overthrow the Government by force and violence and that Harry Bridges was a member of the Party before he received his citizenship papers.**

The Government's first witness was John Lautner, an avowed ex-communist, who gave testimony designed to prove the Communist Party seeks to overthrow the Government by force and violence. He is one in the stable of "professional experts on Communism" which the Government keeps on hand for these trials. He gets paid $25 a day and said he averages $125 per week.

BRIDGES' TESTIMONY

Then, in a surprise move, the Government called Harry Bridges as an adverse witness. Bridges was forced to take the stand in spite of vigorous protests by defense attorneys. The prosecutor, Lynn J. Gillard, then asked the following questions:

"Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?"

"Nope," replied Bridges.

"Were you ever a member of an organization that advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?"

"No."

"Were you ever a member of a faction of the Communist Party?"

"Meaning what?"

Gillard then explained that a faction was a group of Communist Party members who belong to another organization, a trade union for example, and meet to decide on party strategy within the organization.

Bridges said he had never been a member of a faction.

"Were you ever issued a membership book in the Communist Party, Mr. Bridges?" Gillard continued.

"Nope," replied Bridges.

"Did you ever pay dues to the Communist Party?"

"No."

"Were you ever elected to any position in the Communist Party?"

"Not that I recall."

"Were you ever appointed to any such position?"

"Not that I know of."

Gillard then referred to testimony Bridges had given at previous trials in an attempt to trip him up. Bridges explained that: "We are dealing here with 20 years, a couple of million words and whole books full of testimony. What I said before is a matter of record."

**Following Bridges on the stand were a long string of Government witnesses whose memories, like fine wine, seemed to improve with age. For instance John H. Schomaker remembered details of a conversation held in 1933 in a restaurant on lower Market Street. He recalled a long conversation with Bridges and Bruce B. Jones about what name Bridges should use as a Party member. They finally agreed on "Dorgan." Schomaker then left the restaurant for "10 or 15 minutes." Upon his return he saw an application card with Harry Bridges' name on one side and Harry Dorgan on the other. A rather remarkable feat of memory for details over 22 years old.**

MORE MEMORY WIZARDS

Another man with a long memory was one David L. Saunders, a seaman who was screened from the waterfront by the Coast Guard, but was cleared after he testified for the Government in the Los Angeles Smith Act Trial. Saunders memory only took him back to 1936, a mere 19 years. He told of a meeting held in the Mission District of San Francisco where Bridges was introduced as a speaker. This time Bridges turned up as "Comrade Rossi."

Bruce Hannon, a former longshore official who had testified for Bridges in the 1939 deportation hearing before Dean James M. Landis turned up as a Government witness this time. Hannon recalled a 1938 meeting with Bridges, William Z. Foster, then National Chairman of the Communist Party, Jack Stachel, William Lambert, Louis Goldblatt, Secretary-Treasurer of the ILWU, and John Schomaker.

The reason for the meeting, Hannon recalled, was to settle a warehouse strike involving 75 workers. It was feared that the strike, by banning "hot cargo," would tie up the waterfront. Hannon maintained that only the discipline of the Party could prevail on the warehouse leadership to settle the strike. He claimed that Bridges wanted the strike settled for fear that it would jeopardize the Party's hold on the waterfront.

**It was brought out in cross examination by Richard Gladstein, one of Bridges' attorneys, that Hannon had talked to the Immigration and Naturalization officials about establishing definite proof of his citizenship. Hannon was born in Canada.**

Nearly all the Government witnesses were "professionals" or owed the Government some favor.

STOP-WORK MEETING

In contrast to the string of paid witnesses who testified against Bridges was the testimony of the men in his union. On June 6, they held a stop-work meeting protesting this latest attempt by the Government to give Bridges a one-way ticket to his native Australia.

Even some of the daily papers doubt that the Government has the right to keep trying Bridges over and over again on the same charges, even though, technically, there is no double jeopardy. An editorial in the June 6, Coos Bay Times said: **"To our knowledge no other man in the history of the United States has been so hounded. The full power of the mightiest government on earth has been brought against one man for 20 years. It is questionable that Mr. Bridges' evil deeds are so great when so much government effort has brought so little results."**

The trial has been adjourned until July 11.

HARRY BRIDGES

# 20-Year History of Bridges Case

Roy Gale

**SAN FRANCISCO, June 27— How many times does a man have to go on trial for any one "crime" in this country? If your name is Alfred Renton Bridges, better known on the waterfront as Harry Bridges, it means that you have been on trial for 21 years. For the same "crime," too.**

Harry Bridges has been under government fire since 1934 when the Immigration Service tried to deport him to his native Australia. The government decided that Bridges was an undesirable citizen after he led the West Coast longshoremen to victory in the 1934 strike. It was the first time in decades that the longshoremen had been able to win union conditions.

"COMMUNIST" CHARGE

Since 1934 Bridges has been subjected to one criminal trial, two congressional bills, two deportation hearings, and four other major government investigations. In every case the government pressed the same issue. Bridges, they charged, is a "communist"? Through the years there has been no other charge that they could bring against him except that he allegedly held political views that were allegedly subversive. Now he must face the court again. The government charges that Bridges lied when he denied that he was a communist to get his citizenship papers in 1945.

A fitting title for an autobiography, if Bridges is thinking of writing one, might well be "My Life in the Courtrooms." He would have plenty to write about.

He could tell of the eleven weeks in 1938 when he had an administrative hearing before Dean James M. Landis. He was cleared when Landis ruled that there was no evidence to support the charges that Bridges was a "Communist." Usually a clear-cut ruling that the accused is innocent ends the prosecution. That is, for any "crime" except "Communism."

**He could then tell of the two congressional Bills that sought to deport him because his presence was "hurtful" to the U.S. One bill failed to pass the Senate and the other was declared unconstitutional.**

The next event in Bridges' life before the bar of "justice" was in 1941. It was another deportation hearing. This time, before Charles B. Sears, a retired New York Judge. After ten weeks of testimony, Judge Sears saw his duty and ruled that Bridges was deportable. This attempt on the right of Bridges to stay in this country was finally quashed by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1945. Bridges then applied for citizenship and was naturalized in September 1945.

Bridges next went on trial Nov. 14, 1949. This time, the Government charged that Bridges lied when he swore he was not a Communist in his 1945 naturalization hearing. He was found guilty of criminal perjury and sentenced to five years in prison. This conviction was set aside July 15, 1953, when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the statute of limitations had run out.

THE "NEW" CHARGES

Now Bridges is 20 years older than when the Government first tried to give him a one way ticket to Australia. Always they charged the same thing — Bridges is a "Communist." The current civil trial is only the latest in a long string of attempts to deport Bridges.

**The new case is based on Section 305 of the Nationality Act of 1940, which states: "No person shall become a naturalized citizen who believes in, advocates or teaches or is a member of or affiliated with any organization that (believes) in the overthrow of the Government by force and violence."**

The new trial will center around two main issues. Was or is Bridges a member of the Communist Party and if so is the Communist Party an organization which seeks to overthrow the Government by force and violence.


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